*285 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, how-
531 ever, including the wapa and many (but not all) of the strands of an amaztu, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

Occasionally single strands of wadapi, naturally much darker than manare, are woven across a manare fabric. This does have a somewhat decorative effect, but it is never used for that reason but only for the functional purpose of anchoring a wadapi strand that is to be used for lashing edge re-enforcement.

*285 Typical designs are seen in Figs. 51, 56B, 56C, 57, 59A, 62, 63. The
531 elements of these designs are widespread (Roth shows examples of virtual[ly] all
153 of them from British Guiana) and are simply learned by rote and handed
[171] from one generation to the next. A Kamarakoto basket maker knows by rote memory what exact formula for twilling will produce a picture of a frog, but he is unable to make a satisfactory or artistic picture of a frog in any other medium and I suspect, although I have not tried this out and cannot be positive, that he would in most or all cases be unable to produce in basketwork a picture for the elements of which he did not already know the twilling formula. In the combination of these elements into the more complex patterns, however, he shows considerable ingenuity and variety, to such an extent that except for the simplest geometrical patterns he seldom produces two designs that are exactly alike.

Exactly the same sort of rote knowledge of elements of designs with originality in combining these elements is shown by the women in weaving their bead aprons.

531 This is a convenient place for mention of Kamarakoto graphic skill in
● 532 general. It is very poor. Few Indians, at least in South America, surpass them
[46] in the more mechanical elements of technique and they have a genuine esthetic pleasure in work, such as basketry, that is well done, but there does not appear now to be among the members of the tribe any tradition of art or design on a purely esthetic basis or any individual who is an artist in any sense not included in the word artisan. They have learned and take delight in graphic design that is integral in the process of manufacture, but seem almost completely devoid of any idea of embellishing an article of which this is not true. For instance, I did not see any of their various wooden objects, troughs, benches, etc., on

531 which a design had been painted, although this is common practice among
532 many Indians of this general part of South America, e.g. the Waiwais. The nearest approach toward any purely graphic impulse that I saw was the occasional scratching of drawings on mud walls of houses. These were puerile in the extreme and resembled the first attempts at drawing by an infant in our culture, with no real intent or result of embellishment.[162]

Musical Instruments

114 The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recent-
534 ly (1935) been elaborately monographed by Izikowitz, who is mainly followed in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descriptions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various
[128] works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instruments. Those observed may be inserted in Izikowitz's classification as follows:

534
I. Idiophones.
  Percussion.
  Rattles.
    Jingle rattles. . . . . 1. Seed-shell necklaces, limb-bands, etc.
    Hollow rattles . . . . . 2. Gourd rattles.
    Stamping tubes . . . . . (Probably occur but were not seen.)
II. Membranophones.
    Two-headed drums . . . . . 3. Dance drum.
III. Cordophones (not used).
IV. Aerophones.
  Free. . . . . (Buzz-disc known, but not really used as a musical or sound-producing instrument.)
  Valve.
    Simple trumpets. . . . . 4. End-blown wooden trumpet.
    5. Side-blown horn trumpet.
    Reed instruments (not observed).
  Flutes
    Ductless
      Transverse, with stops 6. Side-blown flute.

162 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[274] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponot?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakoto believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p. 328, category 11b - Analyst]

principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

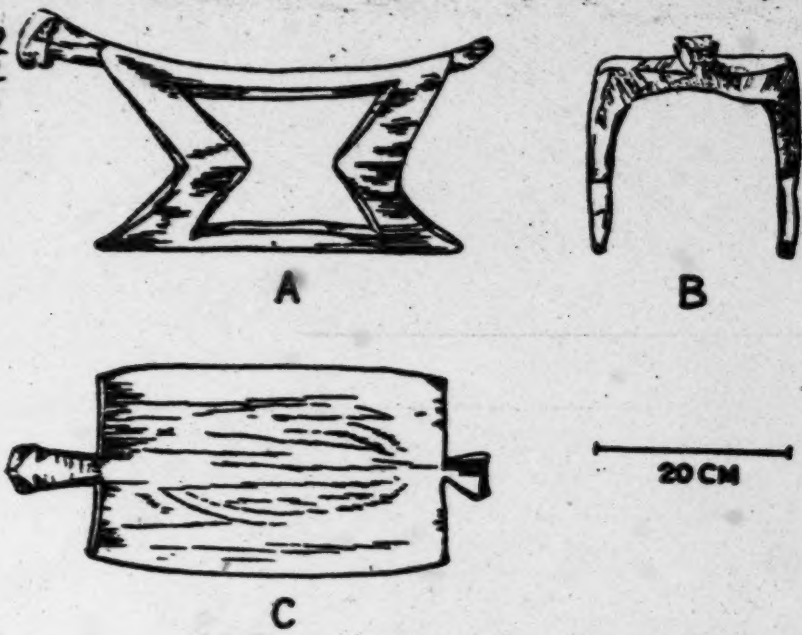

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

Although the kanaimatoo play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [[17]] [224] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

●532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.